

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 NEW DE 09926 01 OF 02 131406Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ( ISO ) W  
-----037959 131618Z /41  
O 131324Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4678

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 9926

EXDIS

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FROM AMABASSADOR GOHEEN

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: IN, OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN)  
SUBJ: US-INDIA RELATIONS

1. ROY ATHERTON HAS SUGGESTED THAT WHEN SETTLED IN I SHOULD PUT DOWN SOME OVERALL IMPRESSIONS OF THE STATE OF PLAY HERE AND IDEAS FOR FUTURE INITIATIVES. THIS CABLE ATTEMPTS TO DO THAT. I PARTICULARLY HOPE THAT IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO YOU AS YOU PREPARE FOR YOUR STOP HERE. THESE OBSERVATIONS ARE BASED ON CONVERSATIONS I HAVE HAD WITH PRIME MINISTER DESAI, EVERY MEMBER OF HIS NEW GOVERNMENT, BUT ONE, AND THE VARIOUS CIVIL SERVANTS WITH WHOM I HAVE BEEN DOING BUSINESS.

2. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE INTEREST OF THE DESAI GOVERNMENT IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE US IS GENUINE. THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND AN EQUITABLE RULE OF LAW HERE IS A MATTER OF DEEP PRIDE. IT CARRIES WITH IT FEELINGS OF AFFINITY TOWARD THE USA, WHILE THE HIGH VALUE WHICH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES TO HUMAN RIGHTS IS LIKEWISE HIGHLY CONGENIAL HERE NOW. ALSO APPRECIATED IS OUR RECOGNITION OF INDIA BOTH AS THE MAJOR SOUTH ASIAN POWER AND AS A LEADER, GENERALLY  
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ON THE SIDE OF MODERATION, AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS. THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES WITH RESPECT TO ARMS CONTROL, A NUCLEAR TEST BAN, AND DEMILITARIZATION OF THE INDIA OCEAN HAVE BEEN REGARDED FAVORABLY--ALTHOUGH THE APPARENT DOWNGRADING OF THE LAST IN THE RECENT MOSCOW TALKS AND EXTENSIVE NEWS COVERAGE OF THE NEUTRON BOMB HAVE CLOUDED THE PICTURE. ANOTHER IMPORTANT LINK, I BELIEVE,

IS THE STRONG PARALLELISM IN OUR AND THE GOI'S SENSE OF WHAT THE PRIORITIES IN INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS SHOULD BE.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THERE APPEAR TO REMAIN CERTAIN RESERVATIONS, OR AT LEAST A HESITANCY ABOUT POSSIBLY COMMITTING INDIA TOO FAR OR TOO FAST IN OUR DIRECTION. PARTLY THIS COMES ABOUT FROM THE NEED TO RETAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, COUPLED TO INDIA'S REALIZATION THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN ITS CONSISTENT SUPPORTERS, WHILE OUR RECORD IS MUCH MORE ERRATIC. THE APPARENT RESERVE ALSO ARISES AT LEAST IN PART, I BELIEVE, OUT OF CONTINUING DIVISIONS AND DIFFERENCES IN POINT OF VIEW WITHIN THE JANATA PARTY--DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE TO SOME EXTENT BEEN PATCHED OVER ON THE SURFACE BUT SEEM NOT YET TO HAVE BEEN BASICALLY RESOLVED--AS, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE MATTER OF A RESUMPTION OF US BILATERAL AID. DESAI'S GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE AND HIS GHANDIAN POINT OF VIEW ARE NOT UNIVERSALLY SHARED. WE SUSPECT THAT EVEN WITHIN THE CABINET THERE ARE HAWKS AS WELL AS DOVES ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, AND THERE ARE CLEARLY SOME WHOSE ECONOMIC VIEWS ARE MORE COLLECTIVIST THAN WESTERN IN ORIENTATION, WHILE OTHERS VALUE THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND SEEM EAGER FOR A RESUMPTION OF US AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

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4. OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S GOOD FAITH AND GOODWILL I HAVE NO QUESTION AT ALL. HE HAS BEEN EXTREMELY FRIENDLY TOWARD ME IN BOTH MY MEETINGS WITH HIM. HE FEELS THAT HE AND PRESIDENT CARTER ARE ON THE SAME WAVE LENGTH. THE TIME RECENTLY ACCORDED THE WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER TOP OFFICIALS IS ANOTHER INDICATION OF THE DESIRE TO BE MORE OPEN TOWARD THE US AND TO CULTIVATE MORE TWO-WAY UNDERSTANDING.

5. IN FOREIGN MINISTER VAJPAYEE, HOWEVER, I SENSE A GREATER RESERVE TOWARD US THAN IN MOST OF THE CABINET MEMBERS WITH WHOM I HAVE MET. I CANNOT TELL HOW DEEPLY THIS RESERVE MAY REACH. IT MAY BE NO MORE THAN A MANNERISM IN DEALING WITH FOREIGNERS, OR IT MAY SIMPLY REFLECT A SENSE OF LIMITED EXPERIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. CERTAINLY IN HIS VARIOUS STATEMENTS OF NATIONAL POLICY, INCLUDING RESPONSES TO SLANTED QUESTIONS IN THE LOK SABHA, VAJPAYEE HAS BEEN TRYING TO STEER THE COUNTRY ON A COURSE OF "GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT" AND ALSO TO ESTABLISH INDIA AS A CONSTRUCTIVE, BRIDGING INFLUENCE WITH RESPECT TO NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. IT REMAINS OF COURSE TO BE SEEN HOW THESE JANATA LINES OF POLICY WILL BE IMPLEMENTED

VIS-A-VIS PARTICULAR ISSUES AND AS TIME GOES ON. WHEN IN THE OPPOSITION, VAJPAYEE WAS A QUITE PAROCHIAL NATIONALIST AND ALL FOR INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC WEAPONS. BUT SINCE HE HAS HAD TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE UNION GOVERNMENT, HE HAS ADOPTED A MUCH BROADER, MORE INTERNATIONALLY ATTUNED STANCE. WE HAVE NO REAL REASON TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF HIS MODERATION OR EVEN-HANDEDNESS, DESPITE THE AIR OF RESERVE NOTED ABOVE.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----040908 132025Z /65

R 131324Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4679

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 9926

EXDIS

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FROM AMBASSADOR GOHEEN

6. WHAT MIGHT WE BE DOING THAT WE AREN'T TO BUILD ON THE GOODWILL, REDUCE THE SUSPICION OR RESERVE, AND CREATE STRONG AND MORE DURABLE RELATIONSHIPS? GENERALLY I THINK OUR CURRENT POSTURE IS ABOUT RIGHT. I UNDERSTAND IT TO ENTAIL STRONG APPROVAL OF THE STORATION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN INDIA; RESPECT FOR INDIA'S STATUS AS A REGIONAL POWER AND LEADER AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED; A MANIFEST READINESS TO BE SUPPORTIVE AND HELPFUL, WHEN AND AS INDIA WANTS OUR HELP, COUPLED WITH RECOGNITION THAT MODERN INDIA POSSESSES VERY CONSIDERABLE SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND INDUSTRIAL COMPETENCE IN ITS OWN RIGHT; AND, FINALLY, A DELIBERATE EFFORT NOT TO LET OURSELVES SLIP INTO BECOMING EITHER PATRONIZING, OR DISCRIMINATORY, OR OVERLY INTRUSIVE IN OUR DEALINGS WITH INDIA. IF WE CAN MAKE OUR SPECIFIC ACTIONS BE, IN FACT, EXPRESSIONS OF SUCH A STANCE, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT INCREASINGLY CLOSE RELATIONS WITH US WILL BE SOUGHT BY THE GOI AND THAT OUR CHANCES OF REACHING VIABLE ACCOMMODATIONS WILL BE ENHANCED WHERE OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS SEEM TO DIFFER.

WE SHOULD NOT, OF COURSE, EXPECT THAT INDIA WILL DO THIS  
AT THE COST OF THE BENEFITS IT OBTAINS FROM ITS RELATIONS  
WITH THE SOVIETS.  
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7. SEVERAL SPECIFIC PROPOSITIONS SEEM TO ME TO GROW  
OUT OF THESE GENERAL OBSRVATIONS. FIRST, THE SIZE AND  
COMPOSITION OF THE EMBASSY APPEARS ABOUT RIGHT TO NUR-  
TURE THE GRADUALLY GROWING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CUL-  
TURAL RELATIONSHIPS THAT WE SHOULD BE SEEKING.

8. OUR POLICY WITH RESPECT TO BILATERAL AID SHOULD  
CONTINUE TO BE ONE OF READINESS, NOT OF IMPATIENCE, TO  
BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS WHEN THE INDIANS WISH. I ASSUME THE  
GOI WILL COME TO THAT DECISION. WHEN IT DOES, TO START  
SMALL AS WE ARE PLANNING (AT ABOUT \$60 MILLION) BUT TO  
PLAN TO STEP UP THE LEVELS SIGNIFIKANTLY IN EAKH OF THE  
FOLLOWING TWO YEARS (PERHAPS INTO THE RANGE OF \$100-  
150 MILLION FOR FY'79 AND \$100 MILLION MORE FOR FY'80)  
SEEMS TO BE APPROPRIATE STRATEGY. SUCH GRADUALISM  
SHOULD LET US HOLD DOWN ANY TOO GREAT INCREASES IN THE  
US PRESENCE AND DRAW TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT ON INDIA'S  
OWN EXPERTISE. (THE INDIAN FINANCE MINISTRY, IT SHOULD  
BE NOTED, REGARDS \$60 MILLION AS A VERY SMALL START,  
AND I FEEL IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO BE TOO HESITANT ABOUT  
GETTING OUR AID UP TO MORE SUBSTANTIAL LEVELS ONCE WE HAVE  
MADE A SATISFACTORY START.)

9. ONE OF THE BEST WAYS OF RECOGNIZING AND TAKING  
ADVANTAGE OF INDIA'S AGAIN OPEN SOCIETY, IN WAYS WHICH  
ARE OF MUTUAL BENEFIT, IS TO STEP UP EDUCATIONAL AND  
CULTURAL EXCHANGE, INCLUDING MANY AREAS OF SCIENCE. THE  
CURRENT GOVERNMENT HAS EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN THIS.  
THE RESOURCE LIMITATIONS ON OUR SIDE ARE EMBARRASSING.  
I HOPE THE DEPARTMENT CAN MAKE STRONG EFFORTS TO  
INCREASE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SUPPORT AVAILABLE FOR ACTI-  
VITIES UNDER THE INDO-US SUBCOMMISSIONS FOR EDUCATION  
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AND CULTURE AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

10. WITH OUR INTEREST IN CHANNELING US DEVELOPMENT  
ASSISTANCE TO THE NEEDIEST AND THE HEIGHTENED EMPHASIS  
WHCIH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT PROPOSES TO PUT ON RURAL  
DEVELOPMENT, WE SHOULD BE CONSIDERING HOW AGRICULTURE

AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT CAN BEST BE GIVEN HEIGHTENED ATTENTION UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE JOINT COMMISSION. THE COOPERATIVE, EQUAL PARTNERSHIP ASPECTS OF THE JOINT COMMISSION MIGHT GIVE OUR AID STYLE HERE A HEALTHY NEW LOOK. PERHAPS BILATERAL AID FOR THE PURPOSES MENTIONED SHOULD BECOME A MAJOR TOPIC OF THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL SUBCOMMISSION, WHILE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND SEMINARS AIMED AT RURAL EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION, AND OTHER RURAL TECHNOLOGIES MIGHT BE MADE PRIORITY CONCERNS FOR EACH OF THE OTHER TWO SUBCOMMISSIONS AS WELL.

11. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF CONSULTATION IN ADVANCE WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IS DISTINCTLY TO THE GOOD. IN CONVEYING RESPECT FOR INDIA'S STATUS AND VIEWS, IT REDUCES LATENT SUSPICIONS, AND IT SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

12. HIGH-LEVEL INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONTACT IS IMPORTANT TO THE RELATIONSHIP WE SEEK. THE POSSIBILITIES CURRENTLY ON THE STOVE ARE OF A GOOD LEVEL AND SCALE FOR '77. THUS, THOUGH ONLY FOR A DAY, THE PROSPEKT OF YOUR OWN VISIT HERE IS VERY WELCOME TO THE GOI AS WELL AS TO US, WE HOPE THAT VAJPAYEE'S WISH TO VISIT WASHINGTON AT THE TIME OF THE UNGA CAN BE ACCOMMODATED, BUT WE ATTACH EVEN MORE IMPORTANCE TO SECURING A VAFCE VISIT TO NEW DELHI DURING 1977. ANTICIPATED KEENLY ALSO IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONGRESSIONAL VISIT THIS WINTER IN RESPONSE TO THE INTEREST EXPRESSED BY LEADERS OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT. FOR 1978 WE URGE THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO A VISIT HERE BY THE PRESIDENT OR BY MRS ROSALYF CARTER AND THAT

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AN INVITATION ALSO BE EXTENDED TO PRIME MINISTER DESAI TO VISIT WASHINGTON.  
GOHEEN

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## Message Attributes

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